J. Seligman & Seligman E-4 (1909-1910) 1932
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(401) provided that a child has been born and survived. A man will give his wife's mother a gown, but even then he may only enter the house of a mother-in-law if the latter is very old. He may, however, speak to her and to her sister, and to his father-in-law, but still with head covered and with the utmost ceremony and politeness.

(402) A man observes ceremonial avoidance of the wives of certain of his kinsmen. Thus, although he may enter the houses of his own old aunts, uncle and son, aka and kwa, he cannot visit them as freely as in the house of his own, because he must avoid the wives of all their relatives (while with the wives of his own he may be on quite familiar terms). When he meets any of these women out of doors he may greet them, but with averted head.

(403) A man may salute the wife of his su but must not sit in the hut with her; she will leave the hut when he enters, and if he should sit upon her mat or skin it would cause death either to himself, his su, or the wife of his su. A man can never inherit the widow of his su or even a dress among some other Indian tribes, e.g. the Ilut.

(404) We are gone to the main axe where a man must avoid. A man avoids his wife's father, but this avoidance may become less rigid after a fan, just as the severity of the mother-in-law avoidance decreases. His wife's brother is treated with respect but scarcely avoided. It was said that nothing would ever relax the avoidance between [illegible] and his wife's mother's brother (her su); they may never open face to face. No payments are made to him, but should the wife's [illegible] for anything it could not be refused; he might ask for a spear, a canoe, or a sheep, and it must be given, but he would never ask for cattle. The same privileges are claimed by the son of the su the son of the wife. A characteristic example was seen in the case of Fakwang. He spent much time in fishing and gave large quantities of the fish he caught to his wife's parents, though the bride-wealth was already fully paid. When asked whether he had made or bought his canoe he looked surprised and said, "Have I not an axe [illegible]? I took it from him." The canoe belonged to the husband of his father's sister's daughter. The father of Fakwang had been su to this girl and Fakwang as her son had inherited the privilege of the su, his father. The girl's husband is Fakwang's axe and it is he who "fears" Fakwang. The latter, however, shows respect to him and observes the avoidance rules; he did not fetch the canoe himself, but sent his axe (in this instance his father's brother's son and great friend) to get it for him. It is said that a

C.Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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complete if her husband (k-ween her); it is on these that the bride-wealth is given, and the felt that this should be returned should the children seems to indicate that the bride-wealth may be considered as compensation to her family for the loss of her children rather than as a payment for her as a wife. The wife's sw and kit are both receiving part of the bride-wealth, and though they do not belong to her clan they also are ew. The avoidance of these relatives of the wife is by no means a reciprocal custom (and is not practised by the Dinka). It appears to be considered to the felt that they receive some of the cattle of the bride-wealth.

(c) The attitude towards the husbands of female relatives is the converse of the above. Though a man must observe unjustified behaviour towards the husbands of his sisters and certain cousins, he appears to be in a more favourable position towards them. He receives part of the bride-wealth given by them for his sisters and certain "cousins", and can demand favours from them.

(d) A woman only looks upon her husband's uterine brothers and his mother's sister's sons as his ew. She avoids them entirely; any line of familiarity would be an offence. It is clear that the reason of the avoidance is sexual, and that by reason of its observance the possibility of impropriety is prevented. These relations of the husband stand in sharp distinction to all others.

Although the Shilluk conception of the "in-law" relationship is broad, the omissions from it are as striking as the inclusions. The wife's sisters do not come under the heading ew at all. A man may always treat them with familiarity and, if he wants to, take one as a second wife; he has prior claim to anyone she but must give the felt bride-wealth. We were told that a rich man might marry all the sons of his wife. The wives of the sons are not ew; the wives of classmen stand in two definite categories—those with whom sexual intercourse is permissible and those with whom it is not—and to none of them descriptive terms are used. The wives of all these classmen called either ew or ewu belong to the former class, but intercourse with the wives of any other classmen is said to cause death to both offenders. Care would be taken in dealing with the second class to avoid anything that could possibly be looked on as a compromising situation, such as staying in the house of these relatives when their wives are present, or sitting upon the mat or skin of the woman. Thus, though not called ew, they are avoided unconsciously.

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cover the bride's homestead and throw spears into her courtyard; 585
in the end the bride gives herself up and goes to the dancing ground. Then the bride's mother takes a child and spear and throws spears at the oncoming bridegroom; he dodges them and evidences by throwing a specially good spear at the women, which they keep as a souvenir. Finally the drums give the signal for a dance, and the bridegroom, dressed in a leopard skin, dances with the bride and her people. A drinking bout concludes the ceremony.

Hofmayr describes a rite in which bride and bridegroom 585
ceremonially wash each other's hands.[1] Mr. Henry suggests that 604
this may refer to the washing of bride and bridegroom by the aqua (father's sister) of the bride. When the bride first comes to live in her husband's homestead her aqua accompanies her and initiates her to the duties of a wife. After the first night the couple have spent together the aqua comes early in the morning and washes the husband and then the wife, and anoints their bodies with oil. This is repeated on several mornings.

Mr. Henry describes a further ceremony in which washing plays 951
a part. Before the birth of her first child a woman goes to her parents' [illegible]
house, and when the child is old enough for her to return with it [illegible]
to her husband her friends have questions of laws. This they take [illegible]
to the husband's village, where she returns with her mother and grandmother. The people of the husband's village drink the beer, a gourd of water is passed round and everyone drops in it some gift, which will be given to the women who have brought the beer; at the same time the men wash their hands. This Mr. Henry states is a public ceremony, exhibiting the child and signifying the fulfilment of the marriage. The bride-wealth has been given, the two families are friends, the husband need no longer serve his parents-in-law; in case of need his wife may even go to her parents and beg food from them.

The bride-wealth consists of cows, sheep, and spears, typically 583
as follows:—

Dak nam, the cattle of the marriage. Usually ten cows, but more may be paid if a man is very wealthy or his homestead.

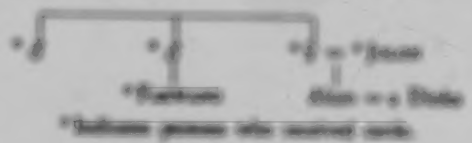
Dak nam, the sheep of the marriage.

Lwoc nam, spears and other goods.

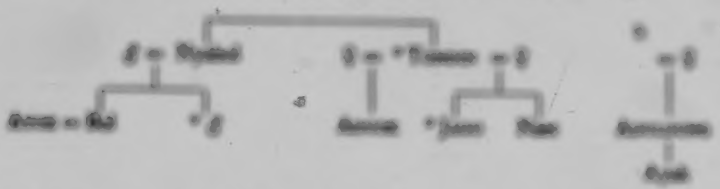
The *dak nam* are taken by the father, but he cannot keep them all; indeed, in some cases it might happen that he would keep none.

[1] Op. cit., [illegible] of seq.

(3E) [illegible] cows were paid by his Dinka son-in-law to one [illegible] on the marriage of his daughter Alum. Of these his wife kept four, one of her brothers (the ne of the girl) took four, and another brother two; the remaining seven [illegible] took, but he had to give four to his wife's brother's son. [illegible] had no son of his own, but if he had had one it would have been his duty to reserve some of the cattle from his daughter's bride-wealth for her brother's marriage. Thus of the seventeen head of cattle, ten were directly to the girl's mother's family, four to the mother, and only three to the father.



The cattle of the bride-wealth provided for another girl, called Bol (*Bol), were distributed as follows: two cows were to her brother (her father being dead), her mother's brother (the girl's ne) took three bulls, and his son (the girl's ane) had three bulls and two cows. These were given to him by the girl's mother, his sepie.



When Nhial marries all the cattle will go to her brother Jago, because she has no ne. Jago and his father might share the cattle, but actually the younger man will get them all, or began so, because his father already has three wives and Jago is waiting to get married. None of these cattle will be saved for the younger brother, Aduok (who is only nine), because he will get some cattle from the bride-wealth of his elder brother's daughter, Ayak (aged five).

It will be seen from these examples that though the term ne can be used in a classificatory sense, with regard to the bride-wealth this aspect of the relationship is not considered. Thus the cattle from the bride-wealth due to the ne are given to the mother's brothers or her sons, not to any one of the mother.

S.Oottigeree & Sottigeree E.-O (1919-1910) 1932
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one of his first duties, and later on any occasion that he may wish to celebrate. Names are commemorated in poetry.*

Twins are welcomed and spoken of as *mash jash*, literally "children of God"; the first is called Aygan, the second Tim. The next child born after twins is called Nabot.

Children are brought up in the house of their father. There is no segregation of the sexes, brother and sister grow up together and may play together, and a boy may hear his sisters if he considers them unruly. The chosen companions of boys appear to be their own (brothers and cross-cousins) and of girls their sisters (sisters and cross-cousins). Cousins, the children of two brothers or two sisters, may play together in the same way as brothers and sisters, but as a border constitutes the habitation of a group with male descent the children of the brothers are likely to see more of each other when young. If married brothers and sisters happen to live near one another their children—who would be *ama, ayina, anaja*, and *ayanja* to each other—will have opportunities of meeting, and it seemed that there was no restriction on those of opposite sexes playing together. As women go to live in the *gal* of their husbands, the children of two sisters are unlikely to see much of each other, so that the *ama ayina* relationship is unlikely to be an intimate one.

There is a certain definite relationship between children and their mother's brother (*ma*). It is the mother's brother who usually gives a boy his first spear; he also has a right to some of the cattle given as bride-wealth for his sister's daughter, and might perhaps influence her in her choice of a husband. A girl, considered particularly good-looking, married a Dinka, and it was said that her father and *ma* persuaded her to expel her Shilluk suitors and accept the Dinka because he could give many more cattle than the Shilluk. Though the *ma* always takes a portion of his sister's daughter's bride-wealth, inheritance being from the father to the son he leaves nothing to his sister's children; his own sons, however, inherit his law on the bride-wealth of the *nyaka*, i.e. of their own *nyanja* (father's sister's daughter). If a man is well off he may give his sister's son some cattle when he wants to get married, but this is a gift, not an obligation. As a funeral the principal duties fall on the son, but at the final sacrifice the sister's son must sacrifice a sheep or a bull, according to his means.

The *nyja* (father's sister) always contributes one head of cattle

* Seligman, *op. cit.*, 101.

S Gottingen & Gott-gmain - E-I (1909-1910) 1932
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to the bride-wealth of her brother's son. She may demand the cattle for her brother's son from her own husband, and he will always give them; should he refuse she might threaten to leave him. We were told that a boy who had no sister's daughter, or sister, would be poor indeed. The two latter do not wholly contribute, but in the full position of one to his sister's daughter and brother to his sister he gets a portion of the bride-wealth given on their marriage.

We could obtain little reliable information relating to age-classes or similar organizations, and formed the opinion that the institution was of little importance and was probably dying out, and that neither knocking out teeth or wearing the foreskin could properly be regarded as a puberty rite.[1] Both girls and boys—except the royal family down to the twenty-sixth—have the four lower incisors knocked out, but no reason could be discovered. Mr. Hussey informs us that the lower milk incisors are taken out—as the young teeth may be born awry—at babies as young that its teeth may not have come through the gum. This is done both by *kwanek* and *commoners*, for the child should become ill or die. The permanent teeth are removed in the tenth or eleventh year not buried near the parents' house. Girls and boys are treated separately in groups, but we could not discover that the operation gave rise to any social bond. Here we may add that to knock out a man's front teeth (presumably this refers to the upper jaw) is considered a grave offence, and in the old days a fine of an head of cattle was imposed.

Foreheads are marked at much the same age as a little later, two or three lines of scars, called *ai*, being made, which in the young stand out like beads across the lower *tal* are regarded as greatly enhancing the appearance. This also is done in groups by some man who is expert at the work. Forehead marking seems to come nearer to being an initiation ceremony to the common use of the term, and at this period the lads come to sleep in their parents' huts, they go to the cattle byre and bear the drums and take full part in the dances. It is true that lads do dance before this, but rather in play and more as instructors than participators, whereas this head wearing the dance becomes an important occupation with great social significance, for when a lad dances with the warriors he is considered a man. Though age-classes have not the obvious social importance that they have among Nuer and Dinka, lads reared at the same time were

[1] Mr. Hussey notes that in the neighbourhood of Dirkie [illegible] have been no new age-classes for many years.

29:Dempsey M-S (1940-1954) 1955
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ordeal". He brings a sheep to the village where the girl is; a corner of the animal's ear is cut off and the piece put into a bowl of water and the man, the girl and the baby are sprinkled with the resultant blood and water. If by the following morning the child is still alive the man is adjudged to have lied and must pay compensation as above. If, however, the baby should die during the night, then the girl is held to have accused the man falsely.

During the reign of King Kur, whose despotic methods of government resulted in his being removed from office, a much grimmer and more realistic trial by ordeal was enacted. The man and the girl were brought to a channel of the Nile where a large crocodile habitually dwelt. By some means this beast was called up from the depths and the pair placed equidistant from it were made to swim across the channel, or, if they could not swim, were launched on flimsy rafts. The one that the crocodile seized was deemed to be guilty of lying. It is on record that one youth about to be put to the test in this manner protested thus, "I know that I am innocent all right, but how does the crocodile know that?"

After the proceedings of the naming and the trying of the lovers is concluded, the mother is allowed to have her child. If it should be a boy, the father, who has been informed of the birth and sex of the child though as yet he is not allowed to see him, sends a present of a miniature harpoon, presumably indicative of his desire that his son should grow up to be a mighty hunter of hippopotami. Then a small basket is woven and filled with ashes of burnt cow dung. One of the baby's maternal uncles hangs the basket round his waist calling upon Nyikang to bless the child and to make him a good husbandman. (The basket containing the ashes represents the large family basket filled with grain.) He then walks round the hut where the baby is, beats upon the wall with the basket and then throws it into the road. If the child is a girl the ashes are mixed with water and the uncle makes models of a bull and a cow. Nyikang's blessing is invoked upon the child that at her marriage she may command a good

39:Dempsey M-9 (1948-1954) 1955
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dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking.

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the evening feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home.

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinement as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat.

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him.

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is